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THE
ART of SPEAKING,
AND
Holding one's Tongue,
IN AND OUT OF DOORS;
Earnestly recommended at this Time
TO THE
SERIOUS PERUSAL
OF ALL
CANDIDATES and ELECTORS.

Il vaut infiniment mieux ne rien dire, que de dire des Riens.

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MDCCLXI.

THE ART of SPEAKING,

TO THE

REFLECTOR'S TONGUE,
IN AND OUT OF DOORS,



Emphatically recommended at this Time
THE Integrity and Judgment with
which the following sheets are pen-
ned, would do Honour to any Cause. The
Author is sensible that perhaps some Ob-

jections may be made to the Title, but a fair
Attention to the Contents will convince every
Candid Reader, that this Pamphlet conveys

the plainest and to every reflecting some
prevailing Mistakes and Indecencies, as may
well recommend it to the Perusal of all Candi-
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Electoral Contest. The Political Alliance has been to

MDCCLXI.

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TO THE READER.

THE Integrity and Judgment with which the following Sheets are penned, would do Honour to any Cause. The Author is sensible that, perhaps, some Objections may be made to the Title, but a fair Attention to the Contents will convince every candid Reader, that this Pamphlet conveys such Instructions, and so amply rectifies some prevalling Mistakes and Indecencies, as may well recommend it to the Perusal of all Candidates and Electors, previously to the approaching Election. The *Prussian* Alliance has been so

invidiously canvassed, that it required an impartial Pen, not *entirely ignorant of the Nature and Design of its Structure*, to set it in its noble and real Light. The Author has divested himself of all the opiated Prejudice of a *Briton*, and argued upon it only as a Man, as a Member of the Universal Commonwealth, as a Citizen of the World. How far his Positions are founded in *authenticated Facts*, and the Clearness of his *Deductions*, he submits to the impartial Reader, who can think for himself.

THE Nature and Utility of our *American* Conquests have been so greatly depreciated by those whose Interest it is to keep up a Monopoly of Beaver and other fine Skins, that the Author thought it his Duty, at this Time, attentively to examine how far they can be beneficial, and with what Reason they have been

repre-

represented as detrimental to the Trade and Manufactures of the Mother Country.

UPON these important Subjects, he did not think it was sufficient to oppose Assertion by Assertion, as has been the Case with the Generality of our late controversial Writers, but to state the most authenticated Facts, and thence draw the fairest and most evident Conclusions. Upon this Plan, he has formed a Chain of Representations the most proper and recommendable, at this Time, to a Candidate, in pointing out in general such Objects as the Choice of Electors should fall upon.

THAT there are various Topics, upon which it is prudent for all Men, at times, to be silent, is most uncontrovertibly true; and these are hinted at, as they respectively relate to the Persons cautioned against them. The Reader will

By

by this Time be appriz'd of the Intent and Scope of this Work, whose only Aim is to remove Prejudice, destroy Party-Cabals, make each Candidate worthy of his Constituents Nomination, and instruct Electors in the Choice of Representatives. If this Piece should set but one honest well-meaning Man right, either as to his mistaken political Notions, his undesignedly erroneous Conduct, or his too easy Approbation of Candidates, the Author will think his Trouble sufficiently requited, and that the few leisure Hours these Pages have taken penning, have been employed for the public Good.

As the Author proposes to himself no public Praise, or private Compliments, so Censure from the Voice of Party, or the Malignancy of prejudiced Critics, will no Way affect him; but, with a thorough Consciousness of having meant well, whatever may be the Fate and Reception of this Piece, he will be compleatly satisfied.



**THE
ART OF SPEAKING,
AND
HOLDING One's TONGUE.**

In and Out of Doors.

T Aciturnity is look'd upon as the national Characteristic of *Englisbmen*, by the Inhabitants of the Southern Climes of the Continent. They regard a *Briton* as a pensive Animal, so deeply immersed in Thought and Spleen, that Nothing but repeated Draughts of strong Liquor can raise his Spirits, or render him sufficiently vivacious to express his Ideas, for any Length of Time. Though I do not

B accede

accede intirely to this unfavourable Opinion formed of us by Foreigners. I must, at the same Time, acknowledge it not void of all Foundation; for, amongst my own compatriotic Acquaintance, I could select, at least, a Dozen who have so little Power of Utterance before an invigorating Dinner, that they have frequently omitted eating their Breakfast, for Want of Resolution sufficient to call for it; and yet after having set down to a Repast ready prepared for them, and washed away their Melancholy with a proper Quantity of Wine, they have been as social Animals as ever assisted at the convivial Board.

It must be observed, that this hypocondriacal Disorder rages more in Winter than in Summer, particularly during the dark gloomy Days of *November* and *December*: Whence one might be inclined to believe that *Sir Bob*, or whoever established the Custom of convening a certain political Assembly annually, about this Period, had an Eye to the Crisis of this Disorder, when

Unanimity

Unanimity might prevail for Want of Spirits to oppose. By a Parity of Reasoning, one might also account for the Opposition having accustom'd the warmest Debates to ensue after Dinner. Whatever might be the Motive to this Institution, or whether the Opposition, perceiving the Danger, resolv'd not to come unprepared, we shall not pretend to determine; but *Bob's* Adversaries certainly found their Tongues towards the End of his Administration, in Spite of Phlegm, *November*, and *English* Taciturnity; and from this Time good Eating and Drinking have been as conducive in supporting the political, as the corporeal Constitutions of all true *Englishmen*.

From hence might be deduced some very favourable Arguments in Praise of Election-Fests, and Canvassing-Dinners, where the Circulation of the Bottle is so essential to set off the Merits and Abilities of a Candidate, which no Virtue, however great, can sufficiently enforce, without the Assistance of the jolly God, and Pink Bumpers.

A Hint of this Sort will be sufficient, as I doubt not but it will shortly be much improved all over *England*. The

If the Imputation of national *Taquiturnity*, laid to our Charge, be true, we might at least be supposed to have acquired a complete Knowledge of the *Art of holding our Tongues*, which is none of the smallest Acquirements, especially amongst *Frenchmen*, whose incogitative Loquacity is put in Competition with our pensive Taciturnity; for, as their own Countryman, *St. Evremont*, very prettily says, *Les plus boudées gens du monde sont les François qui pensent, et les Anglois qui parlent*. We are at least on the right Side of this Sentiment, as every sensible *Frenchman* will certainly, in his serious Moments, give the Preference to the thinking, quiet Man, before the chattering, thoughtless one; or, as the Author of my *Motto* has humourously expressed it, *Il vaut infiniment mieux ne rien dire, que de dire des riens*.

THE END

I, NEVERTHELESS, cannot persuade myself, that we are entire Masters of the Art of holding our Tongues; for though we are not, over loquacious in a Morning, we are as apt as any of our Neighbours to speak out of Time and Place in an Afternoon. Having, therefore, taken seriously into Consideration the Nature and Design of Speaking, and previously read, with great Attention, LOCKE'S *Essay on the human Understanding*, I have resolved in my Mind such Rules of Discourse for an *Englishman*, either Candidate or Elector, as may, with great Propriety, be called *The Art of speaking and holding one's Tongue*.

BEING in the Situation, of a Candidate, I drew up the following Rules for my own Conduct, and having hitherto strenuously adhered to them, with all the Success I could expect, namely the Satisfaction of having done Right, and recommending myself to my Constituents, they are now made public for the general Advantage of all Parties concerned.

AN

An *Englishman* who proposes himself as
 a Candidate, should previously consider,
 that Bribery and Corruption being entirely
 laid aside, he can recommend himself to
 his Constituents no other Way than by his
 former good Conduct. We must therefore
 suppose him intimately acquainted with the
 Nature of the *British* Constitution, in order
 to approve and pursue such Measures as
 tend to its Support, and reject and oppose
 such as are dangerous and detrimental to it.
 Thus instructed, every Point of Debate
 should be considered with Impartiality and
 Attention, that Prejudices may not sup-
 ply the Place of Reason, or Sophistry that
 of Argument. The Nature of our present
 Connexions should be carefully attended
 to, that such Engagements as we have en-
 tered into, and cannot with Honour dis-
 solve, may be distinguished from temporary
 Expedients, and unconstitutional Measures.
 He should, in all Debates, avoid attacking
 the M—r, or abusing the Man; on the
 contrary, he should, upon every Occasion,
 defend

defend his Conduct as long as it continues so irreproachable. Both Gratitude and Self-Interest demand this, when he reflects upon our Situation after losing *Minorca*, and to whom we are beholden for the many Advantages we have since gained over the Enemy. If we cannot, by the same Argument, expect the same great Benefits, is that a Reason for opposing their Measures, or condemning their Conduct?

WHEN our Alliance with *Prussia* comes upon the Carpet, he should consider, tho' the changeable Disposition of some of our Countrymen is apt to veer to opposite Points, a successful Campaign, or a Loss on our Side, may make him be again accounted as he was two or three Years ago, our only Champion and Protector; therefore, to act consistently with his own former Sentiments, he cannot condemn a Measure which has been so universally applauded, and which, according to the Reasoning of the present anti-ministerial Writers, being once right, must remain immutably so, notwithstanding

withstanding all circumstantial or incidental Changes.

BESIDES our Honour will not permit us to leave our only Ally in the Lurch, and it would ill become a *British* P——t to suffer their young glorious Monarch to be straighten'd in fulfilling his Engagements at his ascending the Throne, especially after he has publicly declared he would abide by those of his illustrious Grandfire, and particularly recommended the *Prussian* Cause, which both H——es have, in their Addresses, publicly promised to support him in.

Let *wrong-headed Declaimers, or anti-ministerial Writers*, tell us we have no Connexion with the Continent, when we are allied by Treaty and Gratitude, nevertheless, we may, perhaps, believe them; but when they aver, that we can reap no Benefit from such a Connexion, we must disbelieve them, as the Event has proved the contrary; for no Man in his Senses can suppose, that if

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the *French*, who have been employed this War in *Germany*, had been sent to *America*, we should now have been in Possession of *all Canada*.

But then, say the *Unconstitutionalists*,
 " We have reaped all the Advantage we
 " can from a Diversion in *Germany*, and
 " it is therefore Folly in us to spend any
 " more upon Continental Measures." If
 Gratitude and Honour did not both excite
 us to fulfill our Engagements, after our Al-
 lies had rendered us all the Service in their
 Power, Prudence would point out to us,
 that it would be a very impolitic Measure
 in us to let the *French* ravage *Hanover*, which
 still makes Part of his *Britannic Majesty's*
 Dominions, and is as much entitled to his
 Protection as *Ireland*, *Scotland*, or even *Eng-
 land* itself.

But to agree with these *anti-constitutional*
Gentlemen for a Minute, we will suppose
 that we have now no further Occasion to be
 connected with the Continent.

C

What

What must we do? Must we remain idle Spectators of the Ravages of the *French* in *Germany*, or must we submit to the Terms of Peace they chuse to prescribe their Conquerors? It is notorious that his late most gracious Majesty made repeated public Overtures for a Peace; yet would the *French* listen to no Terms but such as were highly dishonourable and disadvantageous to us, — such only as a vanquished, not a victorious, People could expect.

THE fallacious Misrepresentations of the flourishing Situation of *France*, and our deplorable Condition, are so palpable, that they never could have escaped from any Pen, but one that could silently pass over the *French* Bankruptcy in their public Funds, the melting down of their Plate, and the striking Picture of *Gallic* Poverty in *Belleisle's* Letter to *Contades*. As these are incontrovertible Facts, known to all *Europe*, they at once destroy every pretended Calculation of the favourable Situation of the *French* Finances, and the Inferences drawn therefrom.

We

We can have no Reason therefore to suppose *France* in a Condition to support the War longer than ourselves; but have much Grounds to believe, that if we pursue it with Vigour, and properly assist his *Prussian* Majesty during another Campaign, the *French* will be compelled to sue for Peace, and submit to it upon our Terms.

— UPON these Principles should every Candidate reason, whenever Debate in public or private, *in or out* of Doors, takes Place, concerning the present War, and the Part *England* should take therein. By such Conduct he must certainly recommend himself to all his honest Electors, who have a true Sense of our present Situation, a genuine Love for their King and Country, and are not biassed by the Giddiness of Party, or the Declamations of ignorant and prejudiced Writers, but are truly solicitous for a lasting and honourable Peace, and *no other*, suited to our Success and Pretensions.

It will now be necessary to consider what Objects an Elector should turn his Thoughts to, in order to enforce them at the next general Election. He should first resolve to vote for no Man who had deviated from his Trust, or acted inconsistent with the true Interest of *England*; — who had endeavoured, in a Time of public Trouble, to inflame the Minds of the People, either by false Insinuations of Facts, or sophisticated Deductions therefrom; — who had artfully attempted to undermine our Adm——n, from whose wise and salutary Measures all the Advantages we have gained this War have been derived; — but to make Choice of such only who had made the Advancement of the national Weal the only Rule of their Conduct; — who had exerted themselves in opposing all ill-timed Controversies and Disputes, from a Conviction of their sinister Drift; and had supported a M——r, who, being appointed by the unanimous Voice of the People, has proved himself worthy of their Choice, and the great Trust reposed in him.

UPON

UPON these Resolves every Elector's Nomination should be founded; and on these Subjects he should now discourse his Fellow Constituents before a general Meeting, in order to prepare them for the Election of such Candidates, and such alone.

NOR should the future Conduct of their Representatives be less their Care; and, though I should not propose such Lengths as some of the Electors of a neighbouring Kingdom are said to have gone, I am nevertheless of Opinion, that Instructions should be given to every Representative at his Election, from which he should give his Honour not to swerve. These Instructions should, at least, comprise the following Articles:

I. " THAT he agree to support his Majesty in every Measure conducive to the Benefit of the Nation, in order to prosecute the War with Vigour, in fulfilling the Engagements his Majesty, or his royal Grandfather entered into, with the

" View

“ View of procuring a solid, advantageous,
 “ and durable Peace.”

II. “ THAT to this End he shall strenu-
 “ ously oppose any Overtures for yielding
 “ up *Canada*, or any Part thereof, to the
 “ *French*; or ceding *Guadaloupe* without an
 “ Equivalent, such as the entire Evacua-
 “ tion of the neutral Islands by the *French*,
 “ and their remaining solely in our Pos-
 “ session.”

THESE few Words, tenaciously adhered
 to, contain the Essence of Volumes; and,
 by enforcing these Resolutions, Electors will
 find that they have spoke to the Purpose for
 at least seven Years together.

BUT what shall I say to those who are of
 Opinion that “ Were we to make a Peace
 “ To-morrow, and the *French* were to cede
 “ to us all we have gained in *America*, with
 “ *Louisiana* into the Bargain, we should reap
 “ no Advantage from it; on the contrary,
 “ were we to send over a proper Number
 “ of

“ of *Englishmen* to people *Canada*, &c/ we
 “ should depopulate *Great-Britain*, which is
 “ already deficient with respect to Hus-
 “ bandmen and Manufacturers, and by in-
 “ creasing the Trade and Manufactures of
 “ *North America*, raise such a Rival to the
 “ Mother Country, as must in the End
 “ prove more prejudicial than the conquer-
 “ ed Colonies being restored to the *French*?

As these Assertions are specious, and are
 apt to surprize the Unwary, I shall examine
 them with some Attention.

WITH respect to Colonies in general, it
 will not be improper to cite the Words of a
 celebrated Writer upon the *Roman* Govern-
 ment. “ Colonies (says he) were of ex-
 “ cellent Use to the Commonwealth, to en-
 “ large their Empire, defend their Borders
 “ against a Revolt of their Allies, multiply
 “ their People, transplant their poor Citi-
 “ zens, prevent Sedition, and reward their
 “ Veterans; — to which may be added
 “ the preserving the popular Balance by
 such

“ such large Divisions of Land to the
 “ Commons, and the infusing the *Roman*
 “ Manners and Discipline into the con-
 “ quered Provinces. The Institution of
 “ planting Colonies was of greater Benefit
 “ to the Public than transplanting the Inha-
 “ bitants of the conquered Cities to *Rome*;
 “ a Method that served only to increase
 “ the Numbers of their Citizens, which the
 “ other did more effectually by providing
 “ a larger Subsistence for them; not to re-
 “ peat the other Advantages of Colonies
 “ which were all wanting in this Institution.
 “ The prodigious Increase of their Inhabi-
 “ tants enabled the *Romans* to plant such a
 “ Barrier of Colonies on the Frontiers, as
 “ more effectually maintained all their
 “ Conquests than treble the Number of
 “ Garrisons could have done, which being
 “ composed of regular Forces, kept up
 “ with constant Discipline and Pay, would
 “ have consumed their People, created a
 “ vast Charge, and certainly have destroyed
 “ their Liberties; whereas their Colonies
 “ still retained their Reverence to their
 Mother

“ Mother City, and were the only Support
 “ of the *Roman* State, when sunk by so
 “ many great Losses in the second *Punic*
 “ War.”

To these Advantages, which are almost
 in every Particular, applicable to our
American Colonies, may be added, that we
 have Numbers of People, not only burthen-
 some, but dangerous, to the Community,
 who might be sent over to *America* (where
 there is Land sufficient for their Cultivation)
 without their absence being a loss to the
 Public, or detrimental to themselves.

If there appear a Scarcity of Husband-
 men and Manufacturers at this Time in
England, we should consider the great Num-
 bers employed in *Germany*, on board our
 Fleets, and even in *America*; that, when
 the War shall cease, there will be very many
 idle Hands, through various Causes; first by
 Reason of a great Number not having been
 brought up to Labour; others ill-disposed
 to resume their former Vocations, after a
 Soldier,

Soldier or Sailor's Life; and, if the Super-numeraries of our Fleets and Armies, only in *Europe*, were, after a Peace, all returned to their Mother Country, we should too early find the Inconveniencies resulting from their Re-Association: So that we may very well spare as many as are in *America*, *Africa* and *Aha*, to settle *Canada*, and our other Conquests, with *English*: If any more new Settlers should be necessary, which I believe will not now be thought, we know by Experience, that foreign Protestant Emigrants are always ready, in great Numbers, to put themselves under the Protection of a *British* Prince, in whatever Corner of the World.

We thought it so necessary a Step to provide for the Idle and Dissolute abroad, after the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, that, though we had retained no Conquest in *America*, and whilst our Commissioners were still negotiating at *Paris*, concerning our Limits, we sent over a great Number of Hands to settle *Nova Scotia*: And, after every War, especially after a War like this, wherein so many

many have been employed, it will be necessary to provide some Establishment for the disbanded Soldiers and Sailors. In this Point of View alone, our Conquests in *America* will appear to be very valuable Objects, and highly worthy of being retained.

THAT our *American* Colonies should ever rival us in Trade and Manufactures, or throw off their Dependance upon their Mother Country, is one of those Solecisms in Politicks that are frequently assented to for want of being considered, Whilst the King is invested with the Power of naming Governors of the Provinces, whose Authority is nearly similar to that of Viceroy's, and whilst Acts of the *British* Parliament may restrain any Trade or Manufacture detrimental to *England*, being carried on in the Colonies, there is no Danger of our being rivalled, or that the Members will ever throw off their Dependance upon the Head. If we examine the most recent authentic Accounts of the State of their Manufactures, we shall find it extend only to a

few Hats, which, upon the Representation of the Company of Hatters here, have been since much restrained, a few Paper Mills, a little coarse Linnen, and a small Quantity of wrought Iron.

THAT the Reader may see I do not deceive him, I shall here transcribe so much of the Representation of the Board of Trade to the House of Lords (and examined by the House of Commons in 1749) as relates to this Matter.

WITH regard to *Nova Scotia*, Colonel *Veitch*, who was formerly Governor of this Province, informed us, " There were no
 " Manufactures then (1719) established in
 " this Country; and that the Trade of the
 " Inhabitants consisted chiefly in Furs,
 " Poultry and Cod-Fish; in raising small
 " Quantities of naval Stores; and in Lum-
 " ber, which still continues to be the State
 " of this Province, with regard to Trade
 " and Manufactures, as appears by the Re-
 " turns we have received to our Queries
 " from

“from Colonel *Philippe*, — That there
 “are no Manufactures in this Province, and
 “that the Inhabitants trade with no foreign
 “Plantations, except *Cape Breton*, to which
 “Place they send a little Corn, a few live
 “Cattle, &c.

Colonel *SHUTE*, Governor of *New Hampshire*, in his Return to our general Queries, in 1719, informed us, “That they had no
 “settled Manufactures in that Province,
 “and that the Trade principally consisted
 “in Lumber and Fish.” But Mr. *Belcher*
 acquainted us, “That the woollen Manu-
 “facture of that Province was much less
 “than formerly; the Common Lands on
 “which the Sheep used to feed, being now
 “divided into particular Properties, and
 “the People almost wholly clothed with
 “woollen Manufactures from *Great Bri-
 “tain*; but that the manufacturing of Flax
 “into different Kinds of Linen, was daily
 “increased by a great Resort of People
 “from *Ireland*, well skilled in the Linen-
 “Manufacture.” Mr. *Belcher* has since
 informed.

informed us, "That about ten Years ago,
 "an Act was passed in this Province for the
 "Encouragement of Iron Works, by which
 "a Grant was made of about eight Thou-
 "sand Acres of Land, the King's Lands, as
 "a farther Encouragement to the Proprie-
 "tors and Undertakers of those Works."
 With regard to the Trade of this Province,
 he acquaints us, "That it now consists, as it
 "had done for many Years past, in the
 "Exportation of naval Stores, Lumber and
 "Fish."

In 1719, Colonel *Shute*, who was Gover-
 nor of *Massachusetts Bay*, as well as *New*
Hampshire, informed us, "That, in some
 "Parts of this Province, the Inhabitants
 "work up their Wool and Flax, and make
 "an ordinary coarse Cloth, for their own
 "Use, but did not export any: That the
 "greatest Part both of the woollen and li-
 "nen Cloathing, which was then worn in
 "this Province, was imported from *Great*
 "*Britain*, and sometimes Linen from *Ire-*
 "*land*; and that, considering the excessive
 "Prices

" Prices of Labour in *New England*, the
 " Merchants could afford what was im-
 " ported cheaper, than what was made in
 " the Province. That there were also a few
 " Matters set up in the maritime Towns,
 " and that the greatest Part of their Goods
 " was manufactured by the Inhabitants. —
 " That, for many Years past, there had
 " been Iron Works, which afforded the
 " People Iron for some trifling Occasions,
 " but the Iron imported from *Great Britain*
 " was esteemed much better than their own,
 " and wholly used for the Service of
 " their Shipping; and that the Iron-Works
 " established in the Province could not
 " produce a sufficient Quantity to answer a
 " twentieth Part of its Consumption. —
 " That there were some other Manufac-
 " tures carried on in *New England*, such as
 " making brown Holland for Women's
 " Wear; and some small Quantities of
 " Cloth, made of Linen and Cotton, for or-
 " dinary Sheetting and Shirting. That, a-
 " bout three Years ago, a Paper Mill was
 " set up, which makes to the Amount of
 " about

" about 200 l. *per Annum*. — That there
 " are several Forges for making Bar Iron,
 " and some Furnaces for cast Iron, or hol-
 " low Ware, and one flitting Mill, the Un-
 " dertaker of which carries on the Manufac-
 " ture of Nails." As to the woollen Ma-
 " nufactures of this Province, Mr. *Bulcher* says,
 " That the Country People, who used for-
 " merly to make most of their Cloathing of
 " their own Wool, do not at present manu-
 " facture a third Part of what is necessary
 " for their own Use, but are generally sup-
 " plied with *Englisch* Manufactures."

General HUNTER formerly Governor of
New York, in his Answer to our Queries, in
 the Year 1720, informed us, " That there
 " were no Manufactures in that Province,
 " which deserved to be taken Notice of;
 " and that their Trade consisted principally
 " in Furs, Whalebone, Oil, Pitch, Tarr,
 " and Provisions."

Mr. RIF VAN DAM, President of the
 Council in *New York*, acquainted us by his
 Letter,

Letter, dated the 29th, of *October*, 1731,

“ That there are no Manufactures estab-
 “ lished there that can affect the Manufac-
 “ tures of *Great Britain*: And, as to the
 “ Trade and Navigation of the Province,
 “ (he says) there is yearly imported into
 “ *New York*, a very large Quantity of the
 “ woollen Manufactures of this Kingdom,
 “ for the Use of the Inhabitants, which
 “ they would be rendered incapable to pay
 “ for, and reduced to the Necessity of mak-
 “ ing for themselves, if they were pro-
 “ hibited from receiving the Money,
 “ Rum, Sugar, Melasses, Cocoa, Indico,
 “ Cotton, Wool, &c. which, at that Time
 “ they imported from the foreign Su-
 “ gar-Colonies, in Return for Provisions,
 “ Horses and Lumber, Productions of
 “ *New York* and *New Jersey*; of which he
 “ affirms, the *British Colonies* did not take
 “ off above one Half: But, by an Act
 “ passed the last Sessions of Parliament, this
 “ Trade with the foreign Sugar Colonies
 “ is restrained,”

As

As to the Province of *Pennsylvania*, *Colonel Hart*, who lived many Years in the Neighbourhood of this Country, when Governor of *Maryland*, acquainted us, in Answer to the like Queries, relating to this Province, in 1720, "That their chief Trade lay in the Exportation of Provisions and Lumber, and that they had no established Manufactures, their Cloathing and Utensils for their Houses, being all imported from *Great Britain*."

AND, by a Letter which we received in January 1731-2, from Major Gordon, Deputy Governor of this Province, he acquainted us, "That he did not know of any Trade carried on in the Province, which could be injurious to this Kingdom; and that they do not export any Woollen or Linen Manufactures, all that they make, which are of the coarser Sort, being entirely for their own Consumption."

Colonel

Colonel HART, formerly Governor of Maryland, in Answer to our Queries with regard to this Province, in 1720, acquainted us, "That their principal Trade was in Tobacco, which bearing a reasonable Price at that Time, the Inhabitants did not employ themselves in the Establishment of new Manufactures, or the Promotion of such Branches of Commerce as might arise from any other Productions." And, agreeable to this, the Upper and Lower House of Assembly of this Province, in a late Address to their Deputy Governor, in Answer to our general Queries, represent, "That the Produce of their Tobacco, which is their chief Commodity for Trade, was alone sufficient to supply the People with Cloathing, and other Necessaries, from Great Britain; but that Necessity has driven some of the poorer Sort of Inhabitants to make small Quantities of linen and woollen Manufactures for their own Use; but that no Part of them was exported."

on Major Gooch, the present Lieutenant
 Governor of *Virginia*, in his Letter dated
 the 22d of *December* 1731, informed us,
 " That they carried on no Trade from
 " thence, except that of *Tobacco*; nor had
 " they any Manufactures established a-
 " mongst them, which deserved to be taken
 " Notice of; but that some poor People
 " provided themselves with Cloathing of a
 " coarse Kind of mixed Cloth, or Lin-
 " sey-wolsey, made of Wool and Cotton,
 " till they were enabled to purchase bet-
 " ter by the Cultivation of *Tobacco*." And,
 in a subsequent Letter from Major Gooch,
 dated *October* the 5th, 1732, he informs us,
 " That there hath been one Potter's Work
 " set up in *Virginia* for coarse earthen Ware;
 " but this is of so little Consequence, that he
 " believes it has occasioned little or no Di-
 " minution in the Quantity of earthen
 " Ware that has been commonly imported.
 " That they have now four Iron-Works in
 " that Colony, employed in running Pig
 " Iron only, which is afterwards sent to
 " Great

Great Britain to be forged and manu-
factured."

FROM *South Carolina* we are informed by
a Letter we have received from Colonel
Johnson, the present Governor of that Pro-
vince, dated *November 14, 1731*, "That
the Manufactures established there which
interfere with those of *Great Britain* are
scarce worth naming; being confined to
a few Hats, Shoes, and coarse mixed
Cloths, made of Cotton and Wool, for the
Use of their Negroes."

By some Accounts in our Office, we
likewise find the Manufactures of *Connecti-
cut* are very inconsiderable; the People be-
ing generally employed in Tillage, or build-
ing; tanning, shoe-making, and other ne-
cessary Handicrafts; such as Taylors, Join-
ers, and Smith's Work, without which they
could not subsist.

THUS

THUS it appears there are no Manufactures of any Consequence whatsoever to the Mother-Country, carried on in any of the North American Colonies, except *New England*; and, even here, they are so trifling as scarce to merit Attention, when we consider the various Articles that they have Occasion for from *England*, particularly all their Clothing, as what small Advances they had made in the woollen Manufactures have altogether stopt of late Years. The other Colonies, it is evident, have every Article, both for Use and Convenience, manufactured in *Great Britain*, which is the most advantageous Trade we carry on, by Means of exchanging these for the Products of *North America* (such as Provisions, Horses, &c.) which are sent to our *West India* Islands, and bartered for Rum, Sugar, Melasses, &c. Besides these Commodities from the *West Indies*, we import from *Virginia* and *Maryland*, in Return for our woollen and other

Manu-

Manufactures, upon an Average, an hundred Thousand Hogheads of Tobacco annually, About forty thousand Hogheads are consumed in the *British* Dominions, and the rest are exported abroad; whereby there is a Saving to the Nation of One Hundred and forty-six Thousand Pounds Sterling for home Consumption, and a Receipt of Four Hundred and forty Thousand Six Hundred Pounds Sterling, from Foreigners, for the Sixty Thousand Hogheads exported. To this may be added the naval Stores and Iron with which we are supplied from *North America*, whereby the Balance of Trade, which was so much against us in the *Baltic*, is greatly diminished.

It must evidently appear from hence, that the Retention of the Conquest of *Canada*, so far from being detrimental to our Trade and Manufactures, must be of infinite Service to both, by taking off great Quantities of our woollen and other Goods, for which the Inhabitants will return us their
fine

fine Beaver and other Skins; with these the French and other European Nations, must necessarily be supplied by us, as the whole Trade is now in our Hands.

I have been the more particular in setting this Affair in the clearest Light, as it has been made use of as an Argument for restoring *Canada* to the French; but if we were to admit of its having any Weight in that respect, we should, by a Parity of Reasoning, yield them all our former Conquests upon the Continent of *North America*: This indeed, I have not yet heard any-body so chimerical as to assert; though I have known, even in the City of *London*, a Man of good Fashion travelling about from Coffee-House to Coffee-House, in order to prove that the *English* have too much Trade; and that it would be better if they had less; but bottomed his Proposition, or I may rather say, his Paradox, on such a Variety of Particulars, as were generally understood by few, and, by those

well versed, too prolix to be fairly decided in a Day's Dispute: So that, what with the Singularity of the Problem, and it's affected Prolixity, the Hero, generally walked off unconvicted, to his great Honour, and the Emolument of his Hearers. The Truth is, a Man of this Turn has generally much the Advantage of his Adversaries, he being prepared with a good Stock of Particulars, and Master of a Fund of common-place Arguments, his Adversaries, not only unguarded and unprepared, but generally unacquainted with the Matter in Argument, or their Heads more usefully employed about their own Business.

THERE are, doubtless, many other Objects which deserve the Attention both of Candidates and Electors; but these being at present the most important and popular, and having discussed them in as ample a Manner as their Nature required, we shall pass over those of less national Consequence in order to consider that Part of our Per-

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formance

formance which relates to holding the Tongue.

IN a *Candidate*, it would be prudent, at this Time, to be silent upon such Subjects as might displease his Constituents. He should be cautious in condemning Popularity, and, though ever so keen a Sportsman, let all Actions of Trespass against the Game-Act lie dormant, at least till after the General Election. He should not assent to fresh Tolls or new Turnpikes, especially upon the Road that leads to his County or Borough.

IN order to hold his Tongue *with grace* at a Corporation or *Canvassing* Dinner, and at the same Time advance the Trade of the *British* Colonies, he should learn to smoke ten or a dozen Pipes at a Sitting.

Within Doors, he should prudently hold his Tongue upon such Subjects as he is not thoroughly

thoroughly acquainted with, in order to avoid exposing his Ignorance ; and always have in Remembrance the Story told by my Lord ———, upon a Motion being made (in the last War) by the Duke of ——— for addressing his M—— for *keeping our Forces at home, till the Dutch had declared War against the French.*

THIS was the Tale : “ I was travelling,
 “ (said his Lordship) last Summer, with a
 “ Lady and her Sister, in a very easy Car-
 “ riage, upon a very plain Road, where
 “ there was scarce a Rut to be seen, and yet
 “ the eldest Sister, at every little Jog of the
 “ Coach, seemed to be greatly terrified,
 “ crying, *L—d, we shall be over ! — Well,*
 “ *to be sure John has a Mind to break our*
 “ *Necks ; — Would I was well at home ; —*
 “ *I’d never travel again such a bad Road with*
 “ *so ignorant a Coachman.* I was, at first, a
 “ good deal affected with the Lady’s Fright,
 “ and Apprehensions, and took great Pains
 “ to solace her, and represented to her, that
 “ the

“ the Danger was not so imminent as she
 “ imagined; but finding her Ejaculations
 “ increase the finer the Road grew, I asked
 “ her younger Sister, if the Coachman was
 “ addicted to Liquor, or whether he had
 “ frequently overturned them? She replied
 “ *There was not a soberer Man in England,*
 “ *and the Coach had never been overturned*
 “ *since they had it.* This Answer the more
 “ surprized me, when the Lady who had
 “ given me this Information, perceiving my
 “ Astonishment increase with her Sister's
 “ Exclamation, resumed her Discourse in
 “ saying, *But, my Lord, you must not mind my*
 “ *Sister's seeming Fright; — she is not at all*
 “ *terrified; — she does it only to give you an*
 “ *Opportunity of hearing her fine Voice.*”

It would be needless to make the Appli-
 cation, which is so obvious; but let it be
 remembered, that the Story would tell as
 well now as sixteen or seventeen Years
 ago, if any Candidate should be so blind to
 his present Interest, as through Pique, Jeal-
 ousy,

lously, or Resentment, to oppose the Measures of the present M——y; and thereby disturb the Repose of the People, and the Unanimity of the P——t.

Among Electors, there should be an universal Silence upon every Subject that might tend to the pecuniary Disposal of S——ts in P——t. Reversions, Advowsons, &c. &c. &c. in a Candidate's Gift, should not be hinted at by any Elector for at least these six Months. They should seriously consider that a Candidate, who purchases a Seat, is not a Representative of the People, but the Paramount of Mercenaries, he may justly think he has a Right to sell those whom he purchased; and, by fixing their own Prices, they contract for Slavery.

They should also be silent and not depreciate or vilify the Merits of those who may oppose the Candidates for whom they vote. The Ignominy of an Adversary adds not to the Virtue or Abilities of his Antagonist;

gonist; on the contrary, he becomes criminal in approving the Slander, which retorts upon him and his Constituents.

As Religion may not only be considered as a Divine Institution for the Conduct of our Lives, but also as the Tie and Cement of Society, and therefore as a political Good, upon which our civil Liberties are founded, and both the Elector's Oath, and the Representative's Fidelity are rendered sacred: They should, upon no Occasion throw any Slur on either the mystic or revealed Part of our holy Law; nor should its Teachers be ludicrously represented for any Part of their fallible Conduct in private Life; as, by bringing the Ministers into Disrepute, the Cause it self must in some Measure suffer,

This naturally leads me to point out the Imminorality, the Folly of such indecent Toasts as too generally circulate after Dinner, in which there is neither Wit, or scarce
Meaning

Meaning beyond the immediate indelicate Ideas they convey ; and, in order to raise a laugh upon these Occasions the most prophane Thoughts are frequently joined to the most sacred Things. This Custom, which can have no sensible Advocate, ill becomes the Electors of the Representatives of the Nation, when, if rightly considered, they are convened upon one of the most solemn Occasions they possibly can attend.

THERE are various other Topics upon which our Silence is most commendable ; but as these must naturally occur with the Occasion to every thinking Person, it would be needless to mention them here ; and, as a Proof of my not writing Rules for the Conduct of others, which I cannot myself pursue, here set the Example, and drop the Pen.

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 fusi of others, which I cannot myself pursue,
 here let the Example, and drop the Pen.

